596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[575] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

[428] [562] As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163]

3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

837 The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 586 684 563 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 586 177 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 586 837 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the husband takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

837 It may also happen that the accomplice marries the mother of his child. A complaisant husband, or one who, knowing that his wife is unfaithful, keeps her in spite of all, [30] is the object of ridicule by his neighbors and friends, who do not hesitate to call him inganzwa.

837 Among the Bahutu, the adulterous wife is beaten by her husband and sent back to her family. If there are no children from the marriage the husband will claim the dowry paid to the wife's parents.

837 Among the Batwa, adultery is hardly important. If a wife is unfaithful her husband forgives her, and if she is pregnant he considers the child his own.

8. Extramarital Relations

836 684 Sexual relations have always been strictly forbidden to young Batutsi and Bahutu girls. Violation of this interdiction would bring great misfortune to the families, says the voice of the people. In the past, pregnant girls (ikinyandaro) (1) were often even killed with their

1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

children, or else they were led beyond the froniters of Ruanda to a desert island in Lake Kivu where they died of hunger, unless the Banyabungo came to their rescue. Sometimes they were led to Urundi where they had to remain until they gave birth. The child was killed or abandoned to the Barundi.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

Nevertheless, the young nobles do not deprive themselves of having sexual relations with the abagaragu girls placed with their fathers as servants. On the other hand, the Mututsi young man caught with a girl of his own caste was punished in the past in the same way as the accomplice of a married woman. [31]

837 [574] The great chiefs who possess concubines (insholeke) put them at the disposal of their visiting friends and relatives.

Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

765 to the watering place. A brother of the deceased goes down in the near-by well, draws out water with a jug, and empties it into the watering trough. Then he passes the jug to the male children, beginning with the eldest, and each one imitates his gesture (2). In

2. During mourning, only the cowherds fill the watering trough.

the evening the guardians milk the cows; then after the mother, with the help of the paternal uncle, has removed the butter from her own churn (gutshyura igisabo, lit., to bring the churns back), the married sons and their wives do the same thing with theirs.

The son then gives a heifer to the uncle and a bull calf to the sister who has removed the cow dung (gukuka) in the kraal.

768 The night is spent in drinking, and the following day the uncle proceeds to choose a new head of the family if the father had not already designated one before dying.

765 If the wife has not had any children or if the marriage has lasted only a short while, her death gives rise to no ceremony and the husband wears mourning for only a week. (3)

3. All these curious ceremonies show the deep sorrow of the deceased's relatives. Above all, their purpose [33] is to prevent misfortune descending on the family of the one who has disappeared (guhumana, lit., to be soiled, to change color, to contract a serious illness).

Although they are extraneous to the common law itself, we have deemed it desirable to make a brief sketch of these ceremonies, in order to show that the whole life of the Banyarwanda is encircled in a close web of prescriptions of a magic nature.

[33] 2. Separation and Divorce

●586 It may happen that the husband's and wife's characters are not in harmony, that the wife complains of her husband's stinginess,

586 or that the husband finds his wife to be capricious or disobedient. In such cases the couple can separate for a while (kwahukana). But this separation often makes them think it over; either the husband makes amends and fetches his wife from her parents, giving presents to the latter and to his wife (beer, cloth, or goats), or else the wife, realizing that she was in the wrong to leave her home, returns of her own will.

During the time of separation, the children, except nurslings, remain with the husband.

If an understanding is definitely impossible, divorce (kwahukana rwose, lit., to separate definitely) can be requested by one of the couple.

Causes of divorce in favor of the husband (repudiation) are: repeated adultery; dirtiness; negligence in the care of the household and the supervision of servants; the evil eye (1) that will cause illness

1. Cf. preceding page, note 1.

of the husband or cattle, and, above all, stubborn disobedience. [842] Sterility may be a cause for divorce, but if the husband is pleased with his wife he will keep her and merely take another who will be able to give him children.

Illness, even when prolonged, is not a cause for divorce. [34] If the marriage has been fruitful, the husband cannot take back the dowry, but keeps the indongoranyo he received from his father-in-law.

If there are no children, the husband who has received the indongoranyo is not authorized to claim the inkwano. He can do so, in the opposite case, but the wife's parents, in order to avoid this obligation, give him another of their daughters.

If the dowry has been paid in full, the children remain with their father, except those that have not been weaned.

The wife can ask for a divorce if the husband does not pay the dowry, does not provide her with cloth and ornaments, continually [761] ill-treats her, or if the children's, dying one after another makes her believe in the malevolent influence of her husband.

If there are children, the husband may keep the indongoranyo. In the opposite case, he takes back the dowry unless he has received the indongoranyo.

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

586 For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.

[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

587 After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

587 In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
171 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia, Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

844 When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

● 58 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

574 837 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Ruasa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

586 587 If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578 851 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the batware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

578 851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

583 691 divorce have arisen between the married pair, and that there is therefore no cause of action.

And, a case already cited, a man hears that his wife's brother has sold the cow paid in bride-wealth, and thereupon drives away his wife and sues for his bride-wealth. The sale is admitted, but the plaintiff fails in his suit, as no grounds for divorce have arisen between his wife and himself: he is therefore to take his wife back.

586 691 On the termination of a marriage, bride-wealth, with rare exceptions, is returnable in full: and where cattle are involved, the increase is also to be returned (three cases in the records): but a man who sued for three bulls, the progeny of a cow paid in bride-wealth, was unsuccessful when it was established that the bulls were dead.

Circumstances under which the bride-wealth is not returnable in full are:

(*a*) when the wife has borne children or is pregnant at the time of the dissolution of marriage.

Instances: A claim is made for the repayment of bride-wealth of 4 hoes. Three only are awarded by the Court, as a child has been born of the marriage.

In a claim for repayment of bride-wealth of a cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer and some fat, the Court only awards the cow and the hoes, as the woman was pregnant at the time of divorce.

(*b*) when the wife dies in pregnancy.

In such a case, a woman's father was sued for the return of bride-wealth, but pleaded, to the satisfaction of the Court, that her death in pregnancy amounted to her having been killed by her husband. No bride-wealth was to be repaid.

(*c*) when the wife dies after an illness, unless she has come to her husband ill or otherwise unsound at the time of marriage, or has returned home without cause given by him, and there fallen ill and died.

Instances: A widower sues for the return of his bride-wealth on the ground that the woman was unsound when he married her. Her father shows to the satisfaction of the Court that the husband did not disclose the defect at the time of marriage, and that the woman died at her husband's home: and the widower loses and is further ordered to return the clothes and ornaments of his dead wife to her father.

A man marries but does not build a home and remains at his brother-in-law's. Later, he quarrels with the brother-in-law and removes, with his wife. She falls ill and goes home to her brother, and there dies. The Court decides that her husband has no justification for reclaiming

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies. 586 691

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

Instances: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives. 587 768 851

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 586 768 851

586 851 768 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving only female children, these were taken charge of by the village headman. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

In a third case, it is necessary to establish paternity as between three possible fathers.

[862] An unweaned child will remain with its mother till weaned. If not claimed then, her relatives or new husband may claim recompense for the cost of bringing the child up: in one case a goat is to be paid, in another, half the milk of a cow, and 3 hoes.

768 428 As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

[691] *Instances*: In the case just cited, the milk and three hoes represented a deduction from the total bride-wealth of a cow and five hoes.

In another case, the woman's relations resist such a claim on the ground that when she left the heir, her son, and went home, he claimed only her clothes but not the child. Their case fails.

In one case, a man lost his reason, and his wife went off to another man with her three children, of whom two were females. This other man married off one child and betrothed the other. Both contracts [681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

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Impotence.
Loss of reason.
Failure to clothe the wife.
Failure to cultivate.
Failure to provide food.
Wandering habits.
Measuring out food to the wife (instead of giving her free access to the store).
Refusal to eat food.
Accusation of witchcraft.
Continued insult and beating.
Removal of bride-wealth from the relations-in-law.

There are three marital causes where dissolution is threatened, one, because the cow paid in bride-wealth has died, in another because it has gone blind, and in a third because it has borne twin-calves: such a cow is taboo for this purpose, presumably on account of the danger of sympathetic influence on the wife—the advent of twins is not hailed with joy, witness a case where a cow is in issue, the fee of a doctor for removing the curse of twins. [845]

Grounds for divorce of the wife include:

Refusal to work and to cook.
Continued sickness.
Desertion, subdivided into cases where she has gone to her relations, and where she has gone off to another man.

Adultery as such is never cited as a reason for divorce. There is but one case of adultery on record in the Court, the offending man being punished and the woman returned to her husband. [837]

It is but rarely that a woman or her relatives come to Court to sue for a divorce. Normally, if she feels that she has reason for dissatisfaction, she returns to the home of her father or brother, whose duty it is to endeavour to reach an amicable settlement. If this is not done, she remains and abides the issue, or, not infrequently, is married to another man, this precipitating proceedings by the husband. But in a fair number of instances, she goes straight off to another man. [691]

The Court will try to compose matters and to maintain the marriage wherever possible.

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Instances: A runaway wife, sued by her husband, complains that he does 691
not give her clothes and is stingy with food to the extent of measuring

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it out. The Court awards him his wife on condition of his paying her two barkcloths for clothing, and a sleeping mat.

A man has removed his two cows, paid in bride-wealth, and his wife has gone away and has been married off elsewhere. He may recover his wife by immediate payment of the cows, when the second union will be declared invalid.

A woman has left her husband on account of his cruelty, and her father has married her again. She agrees to return to her husband if he will guarantee to clothe her.

The cases of a husband resuming possession of cattle paid in bride-wealth are fairly frequent, but the marriage is never *ipso facto* dissolved on this account: the position would rather seem to be that the relation of the man and the woman reverts to one of betrothal.

The Court discourages recourse to it when it appears that full recourse to conciliation has not been made or that action is otherwise premature.

Instances: A wife admits running away, and her father admits marrying her to another man. The husband gets his bride-wealth back, but loses his costs because he did not try to arrange matters with his father-in-law before coming to Court.

A woman's father has returned the cow paid in bride-wealth, as being of poor quality, and his daughter has left her husband on this account. He sues for payment of a sound cow and wins, but costs are given against him for his manner of action.

A man sues his father-in-law for taking his daughter away. The reply is that she came home ill, and stayed, with his concurrence, because her husband gave her no clothes. This the husband admits, but costs are given against the father because he took no steps to bring about a reconciliation.

A man claims his wife from his mother-in-law, to whom she has gone. He wins, but loses his costs because he did not ask his mother-in-law for his wife before bringing a case.

A man sues his mother-in-law for marrying off his wife to another man while he was absent in Uganda. It is found that she had merely returned home to await his return, and he loses his costs.

It has been mentioned above that a husband who tries to get rid of his wife without sufficient cause is liable to forfeit part of his bride-wealth. Nor does the runaway wife who cannot back her action by sufficient reason for discontent get any sympathy from the Court.

Instances: A wife has left her husband and maintains that she went because

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her husband gave her no clothes. She is ordered to return to him, as she had made no complaint to her father. 586

A wife who went back to her relatives because her husband walked out of the house, saying it smelt, is ordered to return to him. 691

So with a wife who left her husband on account of his deafness.

And another who said that her husband was impotent, but could not satisfy the Court of this.

Another runaway wife is returned to her husband and told to sue before the Court at a later date if she has any concrete reason for disagreement with him, such as his failure to produce clothes or to work on the land.

The seducer of an unmarried woman is always punished and may have to pay compensation to her father. In one such case compensation is ordered on account of the girl being 'destroyed'. In the case, however, of the man who has enticed away a married woman or has willingly accepted a wife who has deserted her husband, there is no such uniformity of practice, and much depends on the circumstances of the case. Usually the man is punished or at any rate cautioned. 684

Instances: A wife leaves her husband and offers herself to another man. She is returned, much against her will, to her husband, and the third party is fined and informed that he will be imprisoned if he accepts the woman again.

An enticer offers the defence that he is willing to pay bride-wealth to the woman's father. She is returned to her husband, whom the enticer, as well as being fined, has to compensate.

A wife, having run away, is reclaimed by her husband, and the man to whom she has gone is punished.

But in four cases, he is only cautioned.

Sometimes the woman is returned without her unlawful partner being punished.

Instance: A runaway wife, pregnant by another man, is returned to her husband, in spite of her alleging against him that he deprives her of food and clothes, is always wandering, and has accused her of witchcraft. (The Court was probably sceptical of the veracity of so formidable an indictment.) The child, when born, is to belong to the original husband, but there is no further mention of the other man.

On other occasions, presumably when the husband has been at fault, the second partner is allowed to refund the amount of his bride-wealth and to retain the woman as his lawful wife. [586] [587]

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Instances: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

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This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour

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connexions with several inzu. These important chiefs sometimes had more than four wives. 595

Our informants were aware of these different functions of polygyny, but it did not seem necessary for them to look for reasons why people are polygynous. It appeared obvious to them that everybody wanted to have several wives.

(*e*) *Divorce*

Marriage could be ended by divorce (*gutana*). The parents of both spouses and their patrilineage heads usually took part in the various preparatory steps. Nevertheless, divorce was not decided by them, but resulted from the will of the spouses or even from the will of one of them. 586

Divorce itself was usually preceded by one or several temporary separations (*kwahukana*), although these separations did not necessarily lead to divorce. The wife left her husband and went to her parents', or to her husband's parents', or to her husband's brother's home. She complained that her husband had insulted her, beaten her, neglected her, was lazy, &c. The fathers of both spouses then met, talked to the husband, and tried to persuade him to take his wife back, and her to return to him. Very often it was difficult to convince them because the spouse who initiated the separation merely wanted it to be temporary in order to exert a certain pressure on the other. So married life was resumed.

It is to be noted that whoever felt wronged, it was always the wife who left and that among well-to-do people she was never expelled by her husband. He merely showed her by his behaviour (not spending the night with her, &c.) that she was unwanted, and then she left.

For a divorce the procedure was essentially similar to that of a temporary separation. The wife left when either she or her husband definitely wanted to end the marriage. Of course there was very strong pressure from both kin-groups to keep the marriage going, in order not to break the alliance between the two patrilineages. Consequently, the spouse who wanted divorce had to try to convince both inzu and public opinion at large that he (or she) was in one of the cases socially recognized as providing legitimate grounds for divorce. These grounds were for a wife: repeated ill-treatment by her husband, his failure to support her, and his refusal to cohabit with her. Impotence was not regarded as

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586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of cohabitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(f) Celibacy

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibiremba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abasazi*), [587] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitundu*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

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For husband and wife, sex was not only that pleasurable activity in which tensions are released, but it was also linked with feelings of affection and sympathy. Moreover, as some cases of prohibition and obligation make it clear, it was a means of participating in collective feelings and of relating oneself to natural processes and rhythms.

For men, marriage was not the only socially approved means of obtaining sexual gratification. Before marriage young Tutsi were often given Hutu temporary concubines, wives or daughters of their father's clients. Moreover, they, as well as young Hutu, had privileged partners: married cross-cousins, brothers', and parallel cousins' wives. If they had affairs with unrelated women or even related or unrelated girls, the blame and the risk were for the latter more than for themselves. But as these affairs were occasional and had to be kept secret, marriage brought to men stability, continuity, and quietness in their sexual life. Homosexuality was widespread among Tutsi and Hutu young men. For girls, any heterosexual activity before marriage was strictly prohibited and severely sanctioned. After marriage, their sexual needs could be satisfied not only with their husbands but with their privileged partners.

Cohabitation was an obligation for each spouse. Refusal over a certain time—one, two or three weeks according to different informants—was a cause of temporary separation or even of divorce (of course this does not refer to a refusal based on culturally accepted reasons such as illness or menstruation). Frequency of intercourse is said to have been up to three times a day for Tutsi when they were newly married, then once a day for young people, and about once every other day later on. Hutu accounts suggest that the average frequency was not as high in their group (once a day for newly married, every other day for young people, and twice or once a week later on). The difference was attributed to the more leisurely life of Tutsi. 'They were not tired by work in the fields.' Women were said to be more eager than men but I was told by some informants that men thought this 'because they never refused intercourse'. Women, however, had to behave in a restrained way and to leave the initiative to men. It was very improper for a wife to manifest pleasure or to be other than purely passive during love-play and intercourse. Both partners sat or lay on their sides. Coitus with the woman lying on her back

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

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woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

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554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men
562 and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
564 differences among the various castes and of much the same content. Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the
[482] fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that
[165] women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[857] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
• 586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
592 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking
578 sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

586 855 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends [581] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 862 593 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in [556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit 593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys [861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A [603] young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the